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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to measure on a nationwide basis the proportion of annual (from 1967 to 1971) housing turnover that represented racial succession. Using data obtained from Current Population Surveys, particular emphasis is placed on how the rate of racial succession varied among regions and was different in cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas. These data are also used to compare the characteristics of blacks who replaced whites and whites who replaced blacks in housing units. Black inmover households are compared to white outmover households in terms of family type and socioeconomic status. In addition, blacks who replaced whites in a given housing unit are compared with other black movers and the whites who were replaced are compared to other white movers. The data support the idea that black husband-wife couples with children lead the way in replacing white households. A list of references is provided. (Author/EB)

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Racial Succession in Individual Housing Units

by Larry H. Long
and
Daphne Spain

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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PREFACE

This is the third in a series of analytical studies undertaken by demographers in the Population Division, Bureau of the Census. A distinguishing feature of these occasional publications is that they are to include broad speculative analysis and illustrative hypotheses by the authors as an aid in understanding the statistics and in assessing their potential impact on public policy. The usual scope of these studies will probably be broader than that of annual census reports on population subjects but less complete than book-length monographs.

Previous publications in the analytical series include **Some Recent Changes in American Families**, by Paul C. Glick, and **The Geographical Mobility of Americans: An International Comparison,** by Larry H. Long and Celia G. Boertlein. Additional studies are in preparation.

This publication is a slightly revised version of a paper presented by the authors at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, held in Atlanta, Ga., on April 13-15, 1978. The data are from a project undertaken by the Social Security Administration and the Census Bureau.

Both of the authors hold Ph.D. degrees in sociology. Dr. Long received his degree from the University of Texas at Austin in 1969, and joined the Census Bureau's Population Division in 1970. Since that time, he has studied population distribution, demographic trends in cities, and the status of blacks.

After receiving her degree from the University of Massachusetts in 1976, Dr. Spain joined the Population Division in 1978. Her previous publications include the following: "Residential Segregation in Southern Cities: 1970" (with Wade Clark Roof and Thomas L. Van Valey), **Social Forces,** Vol. 55 (September 1976), pp. 59-71; "A Research Note on City-Suburban Socioeconomic Differences among American Blacks" (with Wade Clark Roof), **Social Forces,** Vol. 56 (September 1977), pp. 15-20; and "Residential Segregation in New Orleans, Louisiana: 1880-1977," **Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,** forthcoming.

RACIAL SUCCESSION IN INDIVIDUAL HOUSING UNITS

By international standards, the United States has a high rate of residential mobility. Each year from the late 1940's to the late 1960's approximately 20 percent of the U.S. population moved from one housing unit to another—a rate of moving that annually involved the residential relocation of over 11 million households. Most of these mover households (usually 85 to 90 percent) moved into housing units being vacated by other households, and in most cases the inmover and outmover households closely resembled one another in terms of socioeconomic status. Also in most cases, the household moving into a housing unit was of the same race as the household moving out.

Sometimes, however, the inmover and outmover households are of different races. Though seldom measured directly, racial succession in individual housing units is the primary process through which massive alterations have occurred in the racial composition of many American cities since World War II. Most studies of racial change in urban areas have examined the end product of such processes, by comparing the racial composition of city blocks and census tracts at successive censuses. Such studies have been very useful in documenting the changes in socioeconomic status of neighborhoods that often accompany changes in racial composition, but these types of studies have not directly compared the socioeconomic and family characteristics of Blacks who replace Whites or Whites who replace Blacks.

A few efforts have been made to compare the occupants of individual housing units at successive dates. As part of the 1970 Census of Housing, the Bureau selected a sample of housing units from the 1960 and 1970 censuses, identifying units that were occupied at both censuses, added by new construction between 1960 and 1970, and that underwent conversion, merger, or demolition between 1960 and 1970. This program, called the Components of Inventory Change in Housing (CINCH), showed that of all housing units occupied in both 1960 and 1970, about 3.7 percent changed from being occupied by Whites in 1960 to being occupied by Blacks in 1970; only 0.5 percent changed from Black to White occupancy (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1973, p. 287). But occupancy changes between 1960 and 1970 could have taken place as a result of several

moves, and the 1970 occupants were not necessarily the movers who replaced the 1960 occupants.

In order to make comparisons of the characteristics of Blacks who replaced Whites (and also, Whites who replace Blacks) in housing units, we obtained matches of housing units included in successive March Current Population Surveys taken by the Bureau. These data, whose development is discussed more fully in the next section, provided the first opportunity to measure, on a nationwide basis, the proportion of annual housing turnover that represented racial succession. We were particularly interested in seeing how the rate of racial succession varied among regions and was different in cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas. We also wanted to ask two questions concerning the characteristics of mover households: (1) When housing units change from White to Black occupancy, how does the Black inmover household compare with the White outmover household in terms of family type and socioeconomic status? and (2) How do Blacks who replace Whites in a given housing unit compare with other Black movers and how do the Whites who are replaced compare with other White movers?

These types of data can have many important uses. Comparisons of recent movers with the households they replace may provide insights into the degree to which open housing exists, for there is a need to measure the ease with which Black households of a given income level and family configuration succeed White households of similar characteristics. In general, there is a need to measure more fully the degree to which the race of current occupants of a housing unit influences the race of subsequent occupants. In fact, changes in the rate at which Blacks and Whites succeed one another in housing units could be called a social indicator.

Source of Data

The data for this study come from matching overlapping panels of Current Population Surveys conducted from March 1967 through 1971. The CPS, taken monthly, employs a modified longitudinal design such that one-half of the housing units visited in any month are scheduled for reinterview in the same month of the following year. The sample design calls for a housing unit being in the sample for 4 months, out of sample for the next 8 months, and in the sample again for 4 months, after which the housing unit is permanently dropped from the sample. Thus, it is possible to trace panels of housing units one year later but not for longer periods.

During the period under study (1967–71), about 50,000 housing units were visited each month. Although about one-half of the housing units in any month's sample would also be scheduled for reinterview in the same month a year later, fewer than one-half would actually be interviewed a year later because a housing unit is dropped from the sample if after the first interview it is found vacant or if for any reason an interview is not obtained at a subsequent visit. When an interviewer initially visits a household, he or she lists all household members on a "control card." On subsequent visits if none of the original household members are present, the interviewer fills out a new control card and indicates on the schedule that the household is different from the one originally interviewed.

With this information for surveys conducted in March, we merged panels that overlapped in 1967 and 1968, 1968 and 1969, 1969 and 1970, and 1970 and 1971. We thus had four sets of year-to-year matches which were then cumulated and assembled into a single file from which tabulations were prepared. The March samples were used because that month contains a special supplement that obtains information on income, previous residence of movers during the preceding 12 months, and a number of other social and economic characteristics not obtained in other months.

The resulting data represented housing units vacated and then reoccupied by a new household between March of one year and March of the next year. Almost always, the new household at the latter date (March) was the direct replacement of the former household resident in the unit in the previous March, but in a few cases there could have been intervening movers; these intervening movers would not be picked up by the matching procedure. Merging of the overlapping panels from the four pairs of years yielded 9,264 instances of March-to-March household successions. These 9,264 pairs of inmovers and outmovers formed the basis of analysis of this study.

Such data have not previously been available on a national basis, but a few earlier studies of filtering in housing have provided a means for comparing and evaluating the data obtained for this study. Perhaps the most nearly comparable data come from a study of chains of moves conducted by the Institute for Social Research (ISR) of the University of Michigan in 1966–67. That study interviewed the occupants of newly completed homes in standard metropolitan statistical areas with 200,000 or more population in the central city (see Lansing et al. 1969, p. iv). Interviewing was then extended to occupants of the housing units vacated

by the inmovers, and so on until a housing unit was removed from the inventory. The purpose was to study filtering in housing and how one move creates a housing vacancy that can generate further moving. The results were used to compare the inmovers to and the outmovers from individual housing units at different stages in the sequences of moves generated by a new construction.

In spite of differences in sample design, one should not expect to find large differences between the ISR study and the present study as regards probabilities of racial succession. In fact, the two studies produce identical summary results (Lansing et al. 1969, p. 53):

	ISR study (1966–67)	Present study (1967–71)
No change in race	94%	94%
White to Black succession	3	3
Black to White succession	1	1
All other successions	2	2
Total (percent)	100	100
Number of cases	1,753	9,264

The ISR study was not, strictly speaking, based on a national probability sample. The present study is based upon matches from successive surveys that were representative of the United States as a whole. A major advantage of our study is the opportunity to investigate areal variation (comparing central cities with their suburban rings and comparing regions) in the incidence and probabilities of racial succession. Another advantage is the opportunity to compare the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of movers involved in racial succession in housing units.

Cities, Suburbs, and Regions

As mentioned earlier, a force for neighborhood change is built into American society by virtue of a high rate of residential mobility (see Long and Boertlein 1976). The high rate of residential mobility means that American neighborhoods in general have a higher rate of inmovement and outmovement than is generally found in many other countries. The turnover of population represented by residential mobility is, in every country for which data are currently available, higher in central cities than in suburban or nonmetropolitan territory (Long and Boertlein 1977).

Because of the high rate of turnover in American cities, small differences between inmover and outmover households can rapidly act to change the character of city neighborhoods.

But how much greater is racial succession in housing units in central cities than in the suburbs? According to the data in table 1, about 90 percent of all housing turnover in central cities of SMSA's involved White-to-White or Black-to-Black successions, compared with just over 96 percent of suburban housing turnover represented by these types of same-race successions during the 1967–71 period. In nonmetropolitan areas, nearly 98 percent of housing successions were same-race successions. In this study, SMSA's and central cities were defined according to their 1960 boundaries.

During the period under study (1967 to 1971), about 5.9 percent of all annual housing turnovers in central cities represented conversion of units from White to Black occupancy. On the other hand, about 1.3 percent of housing turnovers in central cities were instances of Whites replacing Blacks. These two statistics mean that out of every 1,000 replacement moves occurring in central cities, there was a net conversion of 46 housing units from White to Black occupancy.

This incidence of net conversion from White to Black occupancy is over three times as great as in the suburbs. In the suburbs (the part of an SMSA outside the central city), for every 100 replacement moves, about 2.1 were cases of Blacks replacing Whites and 0.6 were Whites replacing Blacks. Hence, out of every 1,000 replacement moves in the suburbs, there was a net conversion of only about 15 housing units from White to Black occupancy.

Outside metropolitan areas, there was no appreciable net conversion of housing units from White to Black occupancy as a result of housing turnovers in the 1967–71 period. Of all housing turnovers in nonmetropolitan areas, less than one percent were cases of Blacks replacing Whites. Cases of Black-to-White changeovers were about equally infrequent, yielding almost no net change.

These statistics can be related to census data on changes in the racial composition of central city, suburban, and nonmetropolitan populations. Between 1960 and 1970 central cities went from 16.4 percent Black to 20.5 percent Black. But suburban populations changed little in their racial composition, being 4.8 percent Black in 1960 and 4.6 percent

Table 1. Year-to-Year Changes in Occupancy of Housing Units—Distribution of Household Successions by Race of Head and Location of Unit: 1967–71

Location of housing unit	All household successions	Whites replacing Whites	Blacks replacing Blacks	Blacks replacing Whites	Whites replacing Blacks	Successions involving other races
NUMBER OF CASES						
United States	9,264	8,041	699	289	81	154
Central cities of SMSA's	3,481	2,661	475	204	45	96
Balance of SMSA's	3,095	2,890	86	65	18	36
Nonmetropolitan areas	2,688	2,490	138	20	18	22
Regions—						
Northeast	1,888	1,605	126	90	35	32
North Central	2,504	2,208	175	83	12	26
South	2,810	2,381	334	66	15	14
West	2,062	1,847	64	50	19	82
Central cities in—						
Northeast	788	586	94	63	25	20
North Central	946	709	153	59	9	16
South	1,011	766	181	49	4	11
West	736	600	57	33	7	49

Location of housing unit	All household successions	Whites replacing Whites	Blacks replacing Blacks	Blacks replacing Whites	Whites replacing Blacks	Successions involving other races
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION						
United States	100.0	86.8	7.5	3.1	0.9	1.7
Central cities of SMSA's	100.0	76.4	13.6	5.9	1.3	2.8
Balance of SMSA's	100.1	93.4	2.8	2.1	0.6	1.2
Nonmetropolitan areas	99.9	92.6	5.1	0.7	0.7	0.8
Regions—						
Northeast	100.1	85.0	6.7	4.8	1.9	1.7
North Central	100.0	88.2	7.0	3.3	0.5	1.0
South	99.9	84.7	11.9	2.3	0.5	0.5
West	100.0	89.6	3.1	2.4	0.9	4.0
Central cities in—						
Northeast	100.0	74.4	11.9	8.0	3.2	2.5
North Central	100.0	74.9	16.2	6.2	1.0	1.7
South	100.0	75.8	17.9	4.8	0.4	1.1
West	100.1	81.5	6.4	4.5	1.0	6.7

Black in 1970. Nonmetropolitan areas decreased in the percent Black, from 10.3 percent in 1960 to 9.1 percent in 1970 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975a, p. 15). An interesting conclusion is that if new housing constructed in the suburbs in the 1960's had not gone overwhelmingly to Whites, the suburbs would have increased in the percent Black, for moves to previously-occupied suburban housing resulted in a net transfer of housing units from White to Black occupancy.

The incidence of racial succession in housing varies by region, being higher in the North than in the South and West. These regional differences are clearer if one concentrates on central cities of metropolitan areas in the various regions (See table 1). About 8.0 percent of all housing successions in central cities of the Northeast were instances of Black households replacing White households; comparable figures for the other regions were 6.2 percent in the North Central States and under 5 percent in the South and West. The apparently higher incidence of White-to-Black successions in the Northern cities is to be expected, in view of the fact that in the 1960's the White population of central cities of the North decreased while the Black population increased. In the South and West both the White and Black populations of central cities increased (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1971, p. 23). The increase in the Black population and decrease in the White population in Northern cities certainly lead one to expect substantial White-to-Black housing successions.

Interestingly, however, in the central cities of the Northeast one finds not only a high incidence of White-to-Black successions, but also a relatively high incidence of Black-to-White housing successions. Out of every 100 housing successions in central cities of the Northeast, about 3.2 were Whites replacing Blacks; in central cities of the three other regions, Black-to-White successions represented no more than 1 percent of all housing successions.

Probabilities of Racial Succession

The type of data featured previously show the incidence of racial succession in cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas, as well as in different regions of the country. Such data do not, however, allow one to assess the probabilities of racial succession. Another way of looking at the question of who replaces whom in housing units is to ask: (1) What is the likelihood that a White household vacating a housing unit will be replaced by a Black household?, and (2) What is the likelihood that a

Black household moving into a previously-occupied housing unit will replace a White household? These two types of probability measures are shown in table 2.

Table 2. Alternative Measures of the Probability of Racial Succession in Housing Units: Annual Average, 1967–71

Location of housing unit	White households vacating a housing unit		Black households moving into a housing unit	
	Total	Percent who are replaced by Blacks	Total	Percent who are replacing Whites
United States	8,400	3.4	988	29.3
Central cities of SMSA's	2,913	7.0	679	30.0
Balance of SMSA s	2,968	2.2	151	43.0
Nonmetropolitan areas	2,519	0.8	158	12.7
Regions—				
Northeast	1,708	5.3	216	41.7
North Central	2,307	3.6	258	32.2
South	2,454	2.7	400	16.5
West	1,931	2.6	114	43.9
Central cities in—				
Northeast	658	9.6	157	40.1
North Central	779	7.6	212	27.8
South	820	6.0	230	21.3
West	656	5.0	80	41.3

For the United States as a whole, only about 3.4 percent of White households vacating a housing unit were replaced by Black households during the 1967–71 period, but over 29 percent of Black households moving into a previously-occupied housing unit were replacing Whites. In other words, the probability of racial succession is relatively low from the point of view of White outmovers but much higher from the point of view of Black inmovers.

As expected, the probability that a White-mover household will be replaced by a Black household was higher in the nation's central cities than in the suburbs or nonmetropolitan areas. About 7 percent of Whites who moved out of housing units in central cities were replaced by Blacks, compared with 2.2 percent in th suburbs and less than 1 percent in nonmetropolitan areas (see colum 2 of table 2).

Perhaps surprising is the relatively high proportion of Black movers to suburban housing units who replaced Whites. Fully 43 percent of Black households moving to previously occupied suburban housing units replaced White households (see column 4 of table 2). In central cities only 30 percent of Blacks moving to previously occupied housing units replaced Whites. The relatively high proportion of Black suburban movers which replaced Whites simply reflects the fact that during the period of study (1967–1971) only a very small proportion of suburban housing was occupied by Blacks. In many central cities during this time a relatively large proportion of housing units were occupied by Blacks, and many Blacks who relocated within or to central cities moved into housing units previously occupied by other Blacks.

These kinds of data provide additional perspective to previous research which has emphasized that a sizeable part of Black suburbanization consisted of movement to predominantly black enclaves (Farley 1970; Pendleton 1973; Schnore et al. 1976; Rose 1976). Still, a substantial proportion of Black suburban movers have bought houses from Whites or otherwise moved into housing units being vacated by Whites. In the future, the rate at which Blacks move from cities to suburbs will depend not only on the degree to which incomes rise among Black residents of central cities, but also upon the readiness with which suburban Whites sell homes to Blacks and the readiness of Blacks to move to predominantly White suburban communities.

Characteristics of Movers

When racial succession in individual housing units takes place, is it primarily a process whereby Blacks of lower socioeconomic status replace Whites of higher socioeconomic status? Or, alternatively, when Black households replace White households, do the two households tend to resemble one another in terms of income to about the same degree as when Whites replace Whites or when Blacks replace Blacks? These questions will be addressed in this section along with issues involving the household composition of movers. It is, of course, possible that White-to-Black successions consist disproportionately of single-person, renter households who never know who moves in to replace them as they vacate apartments. The alternative hypothesis is that Black husband-wife couples with children are the most likely household type to replace Whites; there is evidence, from comparison of census tracts in 1950 and 1960, to suggest this latter hypothesis (see Edwards 1972). To investigate these issues, table 3 shows selected summary characteristics of mover households, according to whether racial succession is involved.

Table 3. Selected Characteristics of Households Vacating a Housing Unit and the Households That Replace Them: 1967–71

Location and household characteristics	White households replacing other White households		Black households replacing other Black households		Black households replacing White households		White households replacing Black households	
	Out-movers	In-movers	Out-movers	In-movers	Out-movers	In-movers	Out-movers	In-movers
UNITED STATES								
Mean household size	3.0	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.7	3.5	3.5
Median household income (in 1969 dollars)	7,240	7,427	4,083	4,294	6,366	6,932	4,275	4,673
Percent of household heads with 4 or more years of college	17.2	16.3	3.9	2.7	9.7	7.6	9.9	9.9
Median age of head	35.1	32.0	34.5	33.7	45.3	35.6	33.4	29.6
Husband-wife families as a percent of all mover households	70.6	69.4	50.4	40.9	64.7	61.6	51.9	58.0
Percent moving within same county	(NA)	64.7	(NA)	87.0	(NA)	84.2	(NA)	73.4
Number of cases	8,041	8,041	699	699	289	289	81	81
CENTRAL CITIES OF SMSA's								
Mean household size	2.7	2.7	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.7	3.4	3.5
Median household income (in 1969 dollars)	6,721	6,823	4,519	4,538	6,370	6,933	4,962	4,184
Percent of household heads with 4 or more years of college	16.6	15.5	4.2	2.5	7.4	6.9	11.1	8.9
Median age of head	36.3	32.1	34.6	33.6	45.6	35.8	36.7	33.1
Husband-wife families as a percent of all mover households	61.8	58.8	49.7	39.4	63.2	59.3	53.3	48.9
Percent moving within same county	(NA)	71.7	(NA)	89.2	(NA)	89.4	(NA)	73.5
Number of cases	2,661	2,661	475	475	204	204	45	45
BALANCE OF SMSA's								
Mean household size	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.6		
Median household income (in 1969 dollars)	8,542	8,601	4,125	5,192	8,125	8,000		
Percent of household heads with 4 or more years of college	21.2	19.9	4.7	2.3	18.5	10.8	Too few cases	
Median age of head	34.9	32.2	31.5	32.7	46.5	35.8		
Husband-wife families as a percent of all mover households	74.4	73.5	54.7	50.0	70.8	66.2		
Percent moving within same county	(NA)	62.4	(NA)	82.4	(NA)	70.0		
Number of cases	2,890	2,890	86	86	65	65		

NA Not available.

To facilitate comparisons, we expressed the annual income of movers over the 1967–71 period in terms of 1969 dollars, based on the Consumer Price Index. But comparisons of the income of inmovers and outmovers is still difficult because the outmovers' income is measured 1 year behind that of the inmovers. Since the study matched successive March Current Population Surveys, outmovers were persons who left a housing unit between March of year one and March of year two. The outmovers were thus reporting on income received during the calendar year preceding March of year one, whereas the inmovers were reporting income received during the calendar year preceding March of year two. This 1-year difference between the income of the outmovers and the inmovers can be important because the average annual rate of inflation was about 5 percent for the period under study. One might, therefore, achieve a better comparison if the outmovers' income, as shown in table 3, were increased by 5 percent to adjust for the 1 year that it lags behind the income of inmovers. The figures in table 3 do not reflect this adjustment, however.

The 1-year lag helps account for why, in each type of household succession, outmovers had lower median incomes than inmovers. One might expect just the opposite, anticipating that inmovers would have lower incomes simply because they tend to be slightly younger than outmovers. Furthermore, Lansing et al. (1969, p. 45) reported inmovers to have lower income than persons vacating a housing unit, although Lansing et al. used a different methodology and slightly different definitions than employed in this study. If outmovers' income were increased by 5 percent in order to adjust for the 1 year that it lags behind the income of inmovers, one would conclude from table 3 that outmovers tended to have about the same or slightly higher incomes than the households that replaced them—the one notable exception being the case of Black households replacing White households.

Note that table 3 shows that the median income of Black households replacing White households was $6,932 (in 1969 dollars). The White households who were being replaced reported a median income of only $6,366, and even if their income were increased by 5 percent to adjust for the 1-year measurement lag, it still appears to be slightly less than the median income of the Black households that were moving in. Hence, the data tend to support the idea that for a Black household to replace a White household, the Black household must have an income at least equal to that of the White household.

As a further test of these ideas, we computed zero-order correlation coefficients between the incomes of households vacating a housing unit and the incomes of the households moving in. When Whites were replacing Whites, the correlation between the inmovers' income and the outmovers' income was .290, and when Blacks were placing other Blacks the correlation was not much different—.221. But when Blacks were replacing Whites, the correlation was .419, suggesting that when Blacks replace Whites, the inmover (Black) household and the outmover (White) household more closely resemble one another in terms of income than in cases of same-race successions.

One of the most consistent differences between the inmover and outmover households was the younger average age of the inmovers. This differential held regardless of the race of the inmovers and the outmovers, but the age differences were rather small—usually no more than 3 years. The important exception was the large age differential that existed between White households that vacated a housing unit and the Black replacement household. In this case, the heads of White outmover households had a median age of 45.3 years, whereas the Black inmover household heads had a median age of 35.6 years. The Whites who were replaced by Blacks thus appeared to be slightly older movers.

We can now begin to sketch a composite picture of Black households that move into housing units being vacated by White households. First, the Black households making this type of move tend to have higher incomes than other Black mover households; their income tends to be about the same or even higher than the White household they replace, but not as high as the incomes of other groups of White movers. Second, Black households that replace Whites are more likely to consist of husband-wife families than other Black mover households. Note in table 3 that about 61.6 percent of Black households replacing Whites consisted of husband-wife families; when Blacks replaced other Blacks, only about 50 percent of the outmover households and 41 percent of the inmover householders were of the husband-wife type. Finally, most Black households that replace White households cover short distances in their moves; of Black households making this type of move, about 84 percent were moving within a single county.

The Whites who are replaced by Blacks tend to be older couples, perhaps those whose children are beginning to leave home. Besides being older, they also tend to have lower incomes and lower levels of education than other White movers.

These differences seem generally to apply to household successions in cities as well as suburbs, as shown in table 3. The small number of racial successions in the suburbs prevents firm conclusions, but for most types of successions, households moving into and out of suburban housing units tend to be larger (more often consisting of husband-wife couples) and of higher income and educational level than households moving to or from housing units in central cities.

The data presented in table 3 summarize general characteristics of mover households, but they do not show which household types are most likely to be involved in racial succession. One can provide additional perspective to some of the generalizations above by examining the probabilities of racial succession according to specific household characteristics, as in table 4.

The information in table 4 allows one to assess the likelihood of racial succession from the point of view of White movers as well as from the point of view of Black movers. An important feature of the table is the demonstration that Black husband-wife couples who move are more likely than other Black household types to move into a housing unit whose previous occupants were White. In column 4 of the table, observe that about 38 percent of Black husband-wife couples who moved into a previously-occupied housing unit were replacing Whites. Other Black mover households (e.g., female-headed families) appear to be somewhat less likely to replace a White household. Only about 22 percent of Black female family heads who moved replaced White households, and similarly only about 21 percent of Black primary individuals who moved replaced a White household. These data provide additional support to the idea (see Edwards 1972) that stable Black families lead the way in racial integration.

From the point of view of White households that move, there is little apparent variation according to the type of household that is most likely to be replaced by a Black household. About 3.2 percent of White husband-wife couples who moved during the study period were replaced by Black households. There may be some evidence that White women who head families are more likely than other White household types to be replaced by a Black household when residential mobility occurs, but any differences among White households in this respect are small. Regardless of household type, the probability that racial succession will occur is low from the point of view of Whites vacating a housing unit (col. 2) but relatively high from the point of view of Blacks moving into a housing unit (col. 4).

Table 4. Percent of White Outmovers Who are Replaced by Blacks and Percent of Black Inmovers Who are Replacing Whites, According to Selected Household Characteristics: Annual Data, 1967--71

Characteristics of household	White outmovers		Black inmovers	
	Total	Percent who are replaced by Blacks	Total	Percent who are replacing Whites
TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD				
Husband-wife primary families	5,907	3.2	464	38.4
Other male head of primary family	118	4.2	27	18.5
Female head of primary family	740	5.0	259	22.0
Primary individual	1,635	3.7	238	20.6
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD				
One person	1,635	3.7	211	19.9
Two persons	2,223	3.7	216	27.8
Three persons	1,636	2.4	190	27.9
Four persons	1,380	2.9	135	33.3
Five persons	851	4.9	98	42.9
Six persons	386	3.4	52	34.6
Seven or more	289	3.8	8(	33.7
INCOME OF HOUSEHOLD (in 1969 dollars)				
Under $3,000	1,479	4.0	289	14.9
$3,000 to $5,999	1,941	3.0	321	15.2
$6,000 to $9,999	2,594	2.6	217	40.6
$10,000 to $14,999	1,630	3.2	119	47.1
$15,000 or more	756	3.3	42	50.0
AGE OF HEAD				
Under 25	1,472	2.2	202	24.8
25 to 29	1,549	1.6	171	34.6
30 to 34	1,107	3.1	142	32.4
35 to 44	1,511	3.4	218	51.4
45 to 54	1,082	5.2	120	53.8
55 to 64	778	5.5	71	44.9
65 and over	901	5.2	64	20.8
EDUCATION OF HEAD				
Under 8 years	1,702	5.0	315	23.8
9 to 11 years	1,423	4.8	266	25.2
12 years	2,676	3.0	261	21.8
13 to 15 years	1,166	2.4	105	40.0
16 years or more	1,433	2.0	41	53.7

The data show that the probability that a Black mover household will replace a White household is directly related to the income and educational level of the Black household. Among Black mover households with under $3,000 annual income (in 1969 dollars), only about 15 percent were replacing White households. The likelihood of replacing a White household appears to rise steadily according to the income level of Black mover households, and among Black households with at least a $15,000 annual income, about one-half of those who moved into a previously-occupied housing unit were replacing Whites. Similarly, at least one-half of Black mover households where the head had a college education were replacing Whites.

Among Whites vacating a housing unit, there is little evidence to indicate that their income level is strongly related to the likelihood that they

will be succeeded by a Black household. Among White households with under $3,000 annual income (1969 dollars) about 4 percent of those who moved were replaced by Black households; among White mover households with annual incomes of $15,000 or more, about 3.3 percent were replaced by Blacks. Thus, low-income White movers are not a great deal more likely than higher-income Whites to be replaced by Blacks.

Summary and Conclusions

The data support the idea that Black husband-wife couples with children lead the way in replacing White households (see also Edwards 1972). In terms of income, the Black households moving in tend to resemble closely the White households moving out, suggesting that changes in the socioeconomic composition of neighborhoods result primarily from same-race successions. But perhaps this conclusion is not too surprising in view of the fact that about 94 percent of all housing successions during the period under study (1967 to 1971) were same-race successions (Whites replacing Whites or Blacks replacing Blacks).

The Whites who are replaced by Blacks appear to be slightly older than other mover households. Heads of mover households tend to be in their early thirties, but White household heads being replaced by Black households tend to be around 45 years old, and many may be couples whose children are beginning to leave home to go away to school or to go to work.

Because of the small number of observations, the study yielded relatively few insights into the circumstances under which Whites replace Blacks. Nationwide, such moves constituted less than 1 percent of all replacement moves from 1967 to 1971, but it is interesting to note that Black-to-White successions appeared to be most common in central cities of the Northeast, where they constituted over 3 percent of all replacement moves. Moves of this type may have become more common in a few cities in recent years. For example, the White population of Washington, D.C. was reported to have increased in 1976, the first increase in 25 years (Valentine 1977). In the present study, Washington, D.C. was classified as a Southern city, but a few Northern cities are thought to be either gaining Whites or losing fewer Whites than in the 1960's (Kristol 1977).

If the White population were to increase in central cities of the North or other regions, the increase might in some cases be associated with

more Whites replacing Blacks in housing units. Even during the 1960's several cities—including Washington, D.C. and New York City (Manhattan)—had net inmigration of Whites at ages 20 to 24 (Long and Glick 1976). The gains of Whites at these ages, however, were offset in the 1960's by especially heavy losses at ages under 10 and 25 to 40, i.e., parents and their children moving to the suburbs. But in a few cities, pressures to move to the suburbs may have lessened in recent years for Whites in their twenties or thirties. One reason is that the rate of migration to many Northern cities has fallen off, partly as a result of the fact that the South no longer has net outmigration of Blacks (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1975b). Also, recent declines in fertility may lessen the push to move to the suburbs, because the desire for better schools and a better environment for raising children were often cited in the past as reasons for moving to suburbs. With smaller families and more "dual-career" couples, the advantages of a central location may be enhanced.

The degree to which such processes are operating in individual cities is not clear from available data. But if some central cities are retaining more of their 25-to-40-year-old White population, the result may be a greater demand for townhouses suitable for renovation and a greater incidence of White households replacing Black households.

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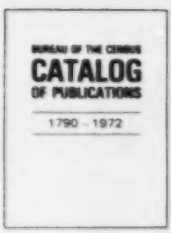

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